

Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 07600 01 OF 02 211204Z

13

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AEC-05 H-01 INR-05

L-02 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01

SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01

STR-01 CIEP-01 COME-00 EB-07 OES-03 CU-02 /095 W

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O R 210900Z DEC 74

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9777

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 228

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORVA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 7600

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR PARM EGEN SGEN XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-DECEMBER 16-20

1. SUMMARY. CSCE ADJOURNED DECEMBER 20 AND WILL RECONVENE
JANUARY 20. FLURRY OF ACTIVITY IN LAST FEW DAYS BEFORE THE
CHRISTMAS RECESS LED TO FEW CONCRETE RESULTS, IN CONTRAST
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 07600 01 OF 02 211204Z

TO SPATE OF REGISTERED TEXTS WHICH HAVE BEEN PRODUCED IN

FINAL WEEKS BEFORE PREVIOUS RECESS PERIODS. SOVIET EFFORTS TO REGISTER INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE FOR HUMAN CONTRACTS AND TWO PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS ON FOLLOW-UP FAILED, AND SOVIETS THEMSELVES BLOCKED REGISTRATION OF PARAGRAPH 3 OF ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL, PROMPTING ROMANIANS, IN RETALIATION, TO BLOCK AGREEMENT ON SELF-DETERMINATION PRINCIPLE. NEVERTHELESS, BASKET III TEXTS ON MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONALS OF DIFFERENT STATES AND STUDY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS WERE INFORMALLY AGREED, AND TEXT ON INFORMATION EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION WAS PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED, WITH UK PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE DROPPED. MOREOVER, THE DISPUTES NOTED ABOVE WERE NOT PARTICULARLY ABRASIVE, AND THE MOOD OF THE SOVIET AND MOST OTHER DELEGATIONS SEEMED TO BE ONE OF WEARY RESIGNATION RATHER THAN BITTERNESS AND IRRITATION. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--FOLLOWING LAST WEEK'S IMPASSE ON FIRST SENTENCE OF NINTH PRINCIPLE (COOPERATION AMONG STATES), PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE MOVED TO A SENTENCE ON AIMS AND RESULTS OF COOPERATION AND SOVIETS SHOWED CONSIDERABLE FLEXIBILITY IN DRAFTING. MOREOVER, SOVIETS DID NOT OBJECT WHEN FRENCH REVIVED IDEA IN THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL OF IMPORTANCE OF INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN IN COOPERATION. SUBCOMMITTEE THEN RETURNED TO EIGHTH PRINCIPLE (SELF-DETERMINATION) IN BELIEF THAT IT COULD BE REGISTERED. HOWEVER, IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY IN IMPLEMENTATION SOVIETS BLOCKED REGISTRATION OF REVISED TEXT OF PARAGAPH THREE OF ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL (NO ENTRY OF TROOPS INTO ANOTHER COUNTRY) CLAIMING INTER ALIA THAT TEXT RULED OUT LEGITIMATE USES OF FORCE. ROMANIANS SUBSEQUENTLY RETALIATED IN PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE BY BLOCKING REGISTRATION OF EIGHTH PRINCIPLE, WHICH SOVIETS WERE ANXIOUS TO COMPLETE BEFORE THE CHRISTMAS RECESS. AS A RESULT SUBCOMMITTEE DECIDED TIME WAS NOT RIPE FOR FURTHER WORK ON NINTH PRINCIPLE, AND WORK ENDED ON A SOUR NOTE. PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE THUS HAS REGISTERED ONLY THE SEVENTH PRINCIPLE ON HUMAN RIGHTS SINCE CSCE RESUMED IN SEPTEMBER, ALTHOUGH EIGHTH PRINCIPLE PRESUMABLY COULD BE REGISTERED AS SOON AS SOVIET-ROMANIAN QUARREL ON NON-USE OF FORCE LANGUAGE IS RESOLVED.

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 07600 01 OF 02 211204Z

3. MILITARY SECURITY--ON BEHALF OF SEVERAL NEUTRAL DELS, YUGOSLAVS STATED THAT IF US PROPOSAL TO DEFINE THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFYING MANEUVERS IN TERMS OF A CERTAIN NUMBER OF TROOPS WAS ACCEPTED BY ALL, THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO DROP THEIR INSISTENCE THAT THE NOTICE GIVEN OF A MANUEVER SPECIFY THE NUMBER OF TROOPS ACTUALLY INVOLVED. THEY WOULD INSTEAD BE SATISFIED IF THE NOTICE STATED "THE TYPE AND NUMBER OF

DIVISIONS AND SMALLER FORMATIONS EQUIVALENT IN SIZE, IF ANY". BRITISH, BELGIAN AND FRG REPS COMMENTED THAT YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL WAS WORTHY OF CAREFUL CONSIDERATION. HOWEVER, BULGARIANS AND SOVIETS SHARPLY ATTACKED IT AS A "STEP BACKWARD" AND TERMED THE PROPOSAL A FURTHER SIGN OF THE EXCESSIVE INTEREST OF SOME PARTICIPANTS IN ACQUIRING DETAILED MILITARY DATA ABOUT OTHERS. AT FINAL MEETING OF SUBCOMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR, YUGOSLAV, USSR AND UK DELS REFERRED TO THE INFORMAL SESSIONS THAT THEY AND SOME OTHER DELS HAD HELD IN RECENT WEEKS CONCERNING THE TOPICS IN PARAS 22 AND 24 OF THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATION. THEY INDICATED THAT THESE SESSIONS HAD FAILED TO RESOLVE ANY OF THEIR DIFFERENCES ON THESE TOPICS.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY--FULL COMMITTEE HAD ONE SCHEDULED MEETING WHICH ADJOURNED FOR LACK OF SPEAKERS. INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ARE STILL IN PROGRESS IN EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH REFERRING TO THE DEVELOPING/LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF EUROPE. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES RE-REGISTERED TEXTS ON STANDARDIZATION AND ARBITRATION, AMENDED TO COVER INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION AS WELL AS COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES. AGREEMENT WAS ALMOST REACHED ON BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS BUT NO TEXT WAS REGISTERED. SAFEGUARDS PARAGRAPH IS TO BE REVIEWED BY GOVERNMENTS DURING RECESS BUT EC-NINE AND CANADA FEEL STRONGLY THAT TEXT SHOULD INCLUDE REFERENCE TO "SERIOUS INJURY TO PRODUCERS," WHICH IS UN-ACCEPTABLE TO US UNDER PRESENT INSTRUCTIONS. INFORMAL CONTACTS ARE UNDERWAY BETWEEN NINE AND USSR IN EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON TEXT ON RECIPROCITY. SOVIETS HAVE NOT SHOWN FLEXIBILITY THUS FAR. SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION WAS AGAIN UNABLE TO REMOVE FEW REMAINING BRACKETS, BUT ISSUES SHOULD BE RESOLVED SHORTLY AFTER

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PAGE 04 GENEVA 07600 01 OF 02 211204Z

THE RECESS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY WAS STUCK OVER ROMANIAN DESIRE FOR REFERENCE TO "ACCESS" TO SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS REGISTERED A PARAGRAPH ON FACILITATING ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN TRAVEL AGENCIES IN PROMOTING TOURISM, LEAVING ONLY SIX MORE PARAGRAPHS TO BE DRAFTED. SUBCOMMITTEE ALSO AGREED ON A SEQUENCE FOR TEXTS REGISTERED THUS FAR.

5. HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION--TEXT ON MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONALS OF DIFFERENT STATES WAS INFORMALLY AGREED WHEN ROMANIANS, WHO WERE COMPLETELY ISOLATED, DROPPED THEIR LAST-MINUTE OBJECTIONS. HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE SPENT THE REMAINDER OF THE WEEK, INCLUDING AN EXTRA MEETINGS AND ALMOST CONTINUOUS INFORMAL CONTACTS,

ON THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT FOR THE HUMAN CONTACTS SECTION, INCLUDING LANGUAGE ON "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS" WITHOUT OUT SUCCESS. AFTER A GREAT DEAL OF MANEUVERING, A TEXT WAS WORKED OUT IN SOVIET-FRENCH-DANISH NEGOTIATIONS WAS TABLED. MANY WESTERNS AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS INSISTED ON SOME CHANGES AND THE SOVIETS WOULD PERMIT NONE. IT WAS ALSO NOTED THAT THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSIONS WERE DIFFERENT IN A NUMBER OF PLACES. AT THE XX PUSESSION THE TWO LANGUAGE VERSIONS WERE TABLED AS SEPARATE NMPERS, AND SEVERAL WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELS DECLARED THEIR INTENTION TO AMEND THEM. DESPITE CONSIDERABLE SOVIET PRESSURE, AND SUBSTANTIAL EFFORT BY THE FRENCH, DANES, US AND SOME OTHER WESTERN DELS, AGREEMENT WAS NOT POSSIBLE. INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED THE RELATIVELY NON-CONTROVERSIAL TEXT ON EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION. THE BRITISH IDEA FOR AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE, A POTENTIALLY EXPENSIVE AND TROUBLESOME PROJECT, WAS DROPPED COMPLETELY AT THE FINAL MEETING PRIOR TO REGISTRATION. OTHER MATTERS ON WHICH AGREEMENT MIGHT HAVE BEEN REACHED WITH CONCENTRATED EFFORT AND THE PRESSURE FOR PRE-BREAK PROGRESS, AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, LAY DORMANT BECAUSE ALL THE RESPONSIBLE DELEGATES WERE ENGAGED IN THE HUMAN CONTACTS HASSLE.

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 07600 02 OF 02 211146Z

13

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INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 229

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AMEMBASSY TUNIS
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USLO SACLANT NORVA
CINCLANT
YSDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 7600

6. CULTURE AND EDUCATION-- IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE
FRENCH DELEGATION HEAD PERSONALLY UNDERLINED IMPORTANCE
OF FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN LIBRARIES/
READING ROOMS, EXPRESSING REGRET THAT SOVIETS HAD DECIDED
TO NEGOTIATE ON THIS PROPOSAL, AND REITERATING FRENCH VIEW
THAT IT IS " ESSENTIAL" ELEMENT IN TEXT ON ACCESS TO CULTURAL
ACHIEVEMENTS. HIS REMARKS RECEIVED WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FROM
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 07600 02 OF 02 211146Z

ALLIED (INCLUDING US) AND KEY NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS, BUT
SOVIET REP SIMPLY REITERATED ESTABLISHED SOVIET POS-
TION THAT PROPOSAL IN ANY FORM IS "UNACCEPTALBE". MEANWHILE,
FRENCH HOPES TO HAVE SEVERAL OTHER, LESS CONTROVERSIAL,
ACCESS PROPOSALS "MENTALLY" REGISTERED BEFORE CHRISTMAS
RECESS WERE FRUSTRATED BY LAST-MINUTE SOVIET RESERVATION
ON PREVIOUSLY AGREED TEXT OF INTEREST TO AUSTRIAN DEL,
WHICH RETALIATED BY BLOCKING AGREEMENT ON OTHER ITEMS IN
FRENCH PACKAGE. ON THE OTHER HAND, SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS
WAS ACHIEVED IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, WHICH "MENTALLY"
REGISTERED TEXT CONCERNING STUDY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND
CIVILIZATIONS AND SIGNIFICANTLY NARROWED EAST/WEST DIFFER-
ENCES OVER INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE FOR EDUCATION SECTION OF
FINAL DOCUMENTS.

7. FOLLOW-UP--SOVIETS BLOCK PUSHED HARD FOR REGISTRATION
BEFORE THE RECESS OF TWO MORE PARAGRAPHS FOR THE PREAMBLE
TO A RESOLUTION ON CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP, COVERING IMPLEMENTA-
TION OF CSCE RESULTS AND CONTINUITY OF THE MULTILATERAL
PROCESS BEGUN BY THE CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, EASTERN INSISTENCE
ON INCLUDING A PHRASE REFERRING TO FUTURE EUROPEAN MEETINGS
AND CONFERENCE MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR NATO DELEGATIONS TO
AGREE, AND WORK ENDED WITHOUT REGISTERING ANY FURTHER
LANGUAGE.

8. COMMENT: THIS WEEKS' ACTIVITY WAS SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FROM THE FLURRY OF REGISTERED TEXTS WHICH HAS PRECEDED EACH PREVIOUS RECESS. DESPITE CONSIDERABLE SOVIET EFFORT, AND WIDESPREAD WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DESIRES TO ACCOMPLISH AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE BEFORE THE BREAK, IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO RESOLVE REMAINING DIFFERENCES ON A NUMBER OF PENDING ISSUES. IN THE CASE OF THE PRINCIPLES, THIS WAS CLEARLY DUE TO A ROMANIAN-SOVIET TUG-OF-WAR, WHICH IS A RECURRING FEATURE OF NEGOTIATIONS HERE. THE HOLDUP OVER THE INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE FOR THE HUMAN CONTACTS SECTION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS WAS MORE COMPLEX, WITH SEVERAL FACTORS COMBINING TO BLOCK ANY POSSIBILITY OF REGISTRATION AT THIS TIME: FIRST, THE ATTACHMENT OF SOME WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS TO A MEANINGFUL INTRODUCTION CLEARLY STATING FREER MOVEMENTS OBJECTIVES AND CONTAINING A FIRM COMMITMENT TO CARRY OUT THE PROVISIONS OF BASKET III; SECOND, CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 07600 02 OF 02 211146Z

THE BILATERAL EFFORTS OF THE FRENCH TO OBTAIN SOVIET AGREEMENT TO A TEXT ON THIS SUBJECT, WITHOUT FULL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE EC-9 OR NATO CAUCUS; AND, THIRD, THE STUBBORN AND INFLEXIBLE NEGOTIATING TECHNIQUE OF THE SOVIET BASKET III CHIEF, DUBININ. THE WESTERN/NEUTRAL DESIRE FOR A MEANINGFUL TEXT COMBINED WITH RESENTMENT OF A SUSPECTED BILATERAL FRENCH-SOVIET UNDERSTANDING TO PRODUCE RIGID OPPOSITION ON THE PART OF SOME DELEGATIONS (NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, CANADA, ITALY AND SWITZERLAND) TO ACCEPTANCE OF THE TEXT AS WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE SOVIET AND THE FRENCH AND DANES. THIS ATTITUDE RAN HEAD-ON INTO AN EQUALLY RIGID SOVIET INSISTENCE ON NO CHANGES, EVEN IN THE BLATANTLY DIFFERENT RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE TEXT. NO DOUBT THIS EPISODE DEMONSTRATES HOW DIFFICULT IT WILL BE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON SENSITIVE ISSUES AS STAGE II NEARS ITS CONCLUSION. AND NATIONAL POSITIONS COME UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE FOR COMPROMISE. END COMMENT

ABRAMS

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